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*Historical Research  
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## PREFACE



The American people owe it to themselves, and to the cause of free Government, to prove by their establishments for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge, that their political institutions, which are attracting observations from every quarter . . . are as favorable to the intellectual and moral improvement of Man as they are conformable to his individual & social Rights. What spectacle can be more edifying or more seasonable, than that of Liberty & Learning, each leaning on the other for their mutual & surest support? —James Madison

Guided by Madison's concept of "Liberty & Learning," the Library of Congress intends to focus its extensive publications, exhibits, and other learned, educational, and cultural programs on the American Revolution Bicentennial during the next two decades. As a major conservator of the Nation's past, the Library holds source materials and published works that will assist the scholar and the concerned general reader in gaining fresh perspective on one of the profound events of history. In 1968 Congress approved the Library's participation in the Bicentennial celebration and subsequently authorized the addition to the staff of several professional historians, all specialists in early American history. They are now working with the librarians, bibliographers, subject specialists, and editors on the Library staff in the preparation of guides to original sources, bibliographies, facsimile reproductions of historic prints and documents, exhibits, and other special programs. Among these are the reproduction of colorful manuscript and rare printed maps and the reprinting of political pamphlets not generally available to the scholar.

For printed secondary sources, the Library is preparing a comprehensive bibliography on Revolutionary America from 1763 to 1789 that will include more than 8,000 entries. Meanwhile, as its initial contribution to the literature of the Bicentennial, the Library published late in 1968 *The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List*. This 38-page paperback, designed for use by the general reader rather than the specialist, cites 340 titles, ranging from eyewitness accounts to recent studies.

To provide students, teachers, scholars, and librarians with a convenient guide to essays and periodical literature on the Revolutionary era, the Library has compiled in the present bibliography a representative list of studies that have appeared during the past 75 years in historical journals, festschriften, and collections of lectures or essays. It was prepared by Ronald M. Gephart, a member of the staff of the American Revolution Bicentennial program who is at present assigned to the General Reference and Bibliography Division. More than 1,100 entries have been selected from among citations to nearly 3,000 articles and essays in a wide variety of serial and other publications. The selections demonstrate the importance of periodical literature in the development of Revolutionary scholarship. A more inclusive list will appear in the comprehensive bibliography.

For historians, the periodical has long served as a medium of scholarly exchange. The rapid growth of the American historical profession in the closing years of the 19th century stimulated the development of scholarly journals. Local, State, and regional societies emulated the efforts of the American Historical Association by encouraging specialized study and providing scholars a much needed arena in which to test new hypotheses or to announce in brief form the fruits of their research. Periodical articles have often treated subjects not yet covered adequately in books or monographs. As a result, the journals have served a unique function as the chief marketplace for the exchange of information, ideas, interpretations, and criticism. Whether writing interpretive or narrative history, moreover, scholars have been informed, to a greater or lesser degree, by the questions raised by conflicting historiographical views. To acquaint the reader with the nature of many of the writings listed, it is both useful and appropriate to offer in the introduction that follows a brief overview of the changing interpretations of the American Revolution. Consideration of these trends has strongly affected the selection and arrangement of entries in this bibliography.

Entries are arranged both topically and chronologically, thereby grouping material devoted to a specific theme and indicating historical development. Under each heading entries are arranged alphabetically by author. A section entitled "Anthologies and Collections" has been added to acquaint the reader with currently available paperbacks that reprint some of the more important articles and essays. There is a separate list of titles and Library of Congress call numbers of all periodicals represented in this bibliography. An author index, which also includes compilers, editors, and translators, and a subject index are provided. Since the arrangement of the bibliography is primarily by topic, the subject index is confined to proper names (e.g.,

persons, groups, organizations, book titles, places), with topical subdivisions only where the number of references warrants them.

Annotations have been provided only where clarification seemed advisable or where added information, such as reprint numbers, would increase the usefulness of the citations.

Library of Congress call numbers are provided for all cataloged items in the general collections. The symbols "Law" and "P&GPRR" indicate, respectively, periodicals in the collections of the Law Library and uncataloged material that may be used in the Periodical and Government Publications Reading Room at the Library of Congress.

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# INTRODUCTION



“Who shall write the history of the American Revolution?” John Adams lamented early in the 19th century. “Who will ever be able to write it? The most essential documents were all in secret . . . and are now lost forever.” Historians have shared Adams’ dismay. The written record offers all too little evidence of what actually happened during the critical years from the end of the French and Indian War to the ratification of the Constitution. Scholars have attempted, nonetheless, to give some meaning to our Revolutionary experience. It is not surprising that after nearly 200 years of historical writing there is still no interpretation of the causes and consequences of the Revolution upon which all can agree. The exact nature of that “bold and doubtful choice,” as Thomas Jefferson characterized our separation from England, continues to elude us.

Perhaps one of the major obstacles has been the inevitable restriction of limited perspective. Conditioned by prevailing attitudes, interests, and assumptions, each generation has held up its own mirror to the Revolution. The earliest histories were written by partisans whose views were colored by their relationship to events. They had witnessed, after all, both a successful rebellion and a civil war. Patriot historians, such as the South Carolinian David Ramsay, argued that the colonists were driven to rebellion by the sinister designs of a ministry that demanded recognition of the “absolute unlimited supremacy of the British Parliament both in legislation and taxation.” Colonial resistance in defense of long-held legislative rights was imperative. In the end, the line that divided Americans became clear. “The young, the ardent, the ambitious and the enterprising were mostly whigs, but the phlegmatic, the timid, the interested and those who wanted decision, were . . . favourers of Great Britain . . .” To the Tory historian Peter Oliver, on the other hand, the civil war in Massachusetts was sublime tragedy. Launched by unscrupulous, scheming demagogues, like Samuel Adams, who twisted matters both “sacred & profane . . . into all Shapes to serve the Purposes of Rebellion,” the Revolution revealed “the

Nakedness of human Nature.” The “leaders of the Faction,” consumed by their own selfish interests and ambitions, bent an unthinking populace to the destruction of benevolent British rule.

The rancor of participants faded, however, and the very success of the American experiment in the 19th century demanded the celebration of patriotic virtue. “Whig” historians writing from the Jacksonian era to the end of the century variously echoed the view made popular by George Bancroft. In his multivolume history of the United States to 1789, published to widespread acclaim between 1834 and 1885, Bancroft attempted to “follow the steps by which a favoring Providence, calling our institutions into being, has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory.” To Bancroft the Revolution was a symbol of the constant struggle of liberty against tyranny, a phase in the successive unfolding of God’s plan of freedom for the American people. He combined nationalistic and moral fervor with democratic idealism to produce a still-cherished view of the Revolution that cast the major actors in striking roles. Washington and other patriot leaders assumed the stature of demigods, while George III became a ruthless degenerate who “made war on human freedom.” Although the British American colonies were “the best trophy of modern civilization,” successful rebellion against the introduction of arbitrary authority signaled the first step in the political reformation of human society.

In the past three-quarters of a century the nationalistic faith that Bancroft’s readers found so gratifying has been subjected to trenchant analysis by professional historians schooled in the techniques of “scientific” history. No longer satisfied with the simplistic equations of Whig history, Revolutionary scholars have refined their methods of investigation in their search for a more impartial interpretation of past events. Their judicious use of manuscripts in American and foreign archives has revealed, as nothing else, the complexity and diversity of the Revolutionary experience. Yet, as rich as the results have been, scholarly

outpourings have perhaps raised as many questions as they have answered. Historiographers examining the frames of reference employed by 20th-century historians have identified no fewer than four distinct schools of interpretation—the imperial, the Namierite, the socioeconomic or progressive, and the neo-Whig—each with a decidedly different emphasis.<sup>1</sup>

The imperial historians—such as Herbert Levi Osgood, George Louis Beer, Charles M. Andrews, and, more recently, Lawrence Henry Gipson—removed the Revolution from the parochialism of the 19th-century nationalists and made it an event of international proportions. Viewing the empire as a whole, they argued that the Colonies evolved into distinct and semiautonomous societies standing in sharp contrast to the mother country. In little more than a century, infant assemblies were transformed from weak advisory bodies into powerful legislative institutions asserting their right to self-government. Provincial leaders accepted English commercial regulation before 1763 as a positive contribution to colonial economic development. But the tightening of British policy after the successful conclusion of the Seven Years' War suddenly made membership in the empire burdensome. Having removed the French menace from the mainland, England now attempted to curb widespread American smuggling, made evident by the war, and to improve colonial defenses against Indian depredations in the interior. The new imperial regulations of 1763-74, which in reality taxed the "dependent" Colonies in their own behalf, assumed an overriding constitutional significance as two basically incompatible views of colonial government and the British Empire clashed. The Revolution was inevitable, the imperial historians conclude, not as a result of British tyranny, but as a result of the inherent tendency in the Colonies toward independence.

The attack of the imperialists upon Whig parochialism has recently received added thrust from the writings of the British historian Sir Lewis Namier and his students. Concentrating their research upon the British "political nation" in the era of the American Revolution, they have questioned the reality of George III's "tyranny." Nineteenth-century "Whig" historians had argued that George III, in a desperate attempt to reverse the trend toward responsible cabinet government, restored the royal prerogative by creating, through the misuse of patronage, a compliant party of Tories or "King's Friends." Together they effectively undermined the power of the Whig parliamentary leaders and retarded English constitutional development. The Namierite analysis demonstrates that the

King, though energetic and obstinate, had neither the desire nor the capacity to bring about a reversal of the accepted role of the Crown in political life. Unimaginative and largely ineffective, George III presided over a government dominated by "connection," "interest," and the ambition of competing factions rather than one led by well-organized, ideologically oriented parties bent upon the implementation of grand imperial schemes. Indeed, the Namierites contend that nearly all British politicians shared a strong commitment to prevailing institutional forms, to the concept of the indivisible sovereignty of the King-in-Parliament. As a result, it was virtually impossible for British ministers to entertain seriously the proposals for constitutional reform advanced by colonial leaders. The imperialists and the Namierites therefore cast pre-Revolutionary British politics and policy in a new light; they present a view of a rather benign imperial system regulated by ministers and politicians who were bound by traditional political conventions and who were more concerned with local issues than imperial problems. England's belated attempt to "rationalize" the empire for greater efficiency, however, came at a time when the maturing American Colonies sought increasingly to assert their independence.

Just as Namier had focused upon internal affairs in England, the socioeconomic, or progressive, historians turned to an analysis of the conditions in the Colonies that spawned revolution. Influenced by the rhetoric and the postulates about human behavior that permeated the Populist and Progressive reform movements, these historians tended to view political motivation in terms of narrow economic self-interest and to use the new tools of the social sciences to reveal the plight of "the people." In the eyes of Carl Becker, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., J. Franklin Jameson, and Charles A. Beard, the clash of economic interests with the mother country was only part of the "real" Revolution—and the smaller part at that. It was fundamentally an internal conflict between the politically repressive special interest groups who dominated colonial society—the mercantile and landowning aristocracy—and the disfranchised working classes—mechanics, artisans, tenants, and small freeholders—who sought greater representation in political and economic life. The issue of "home rule" became important primarily because it crystallized the latent discord between the haves and have-nots in colonial society, and the subsequent contest over "who should rule at home" roused the forces of democracy in America.

Initially, upper class merchants provoked the confrontation with England by protesting against new

British measures affecting trade after 1763. They were soon joined by the debt-ridden landed elite, especially in the southern Colonies, who found British policy responsible for their declining position. Coupling their arguments in constitutional terms, the colonists, who actually sought to escape taxation altogether, retreated from one logically untenable position to another. They objected first to internal taxation at the time of the Stamp Act crisis and then to external taxation for purposes of raising a revenue in the controversy over the Townshend Duties. They finally rejected altogether the right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies following the passage of the "Intolerable Acts" of 1774. In their stand against the mother country, the upper classes enlisted the support of the urban working classes as well as the small farmers. Skilled revolutionaries and experienced agitators soon joined these disparate groups into a cohesive reform movement by using the issue of misrule, aroused by successive British measures, to attack as well the power of the entrenched local oligarchies in the name of American "liberty." Horrified by lower class excesses, merchants and their lawyer allies discovered that they had created a class struggle over which they had little direction. The Revolution assumed a dual nature, therefore, as radical groups began competing with the conservatives for political power in the midst of the debate with England. In the critical years from 1774 to 1776 the radical element gained control, declared independence, and set out to reweave the social and political fabric for a new nation.

To the progressive historians, the great democratic gains associated with the Revolutionary era came in the dozen years following Lexington and Concord. The radicals defied established authority by resorting to extralegal committees of correspondence and provincial conventions to circumvent the conservative-controlled colonial legislatures. They legitimized reform in the years from 1775 to 1780 by drafting new State constitutions. In almost every case they reduced the power of the Governor and made the lower house the dominant branch of government. On the national level the radicals created a weak central government under the Articles of Confederation by reserving most powers to the States. Reform on both the State and national levels was widespread. Taken together, the broadening of the franchise, the discontinuance of feudal holdovers such as quitrents, the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the confiscation and distribution of Tory estates among small landholders, the disestablishment of the Anglican Church and the separation of church and state, the abolition of slavery

in some of the States, and the decline of artificial class distinctions reduced the power of the privileged oligarchy and represented a significant move toward greater social, economic, and political democracy.

The radicals' success was short-lived. A relatively small but well-organized group of conservatives representing the propertied elite—whether in securities, manufacturing, or trade—caught the radicals unprepared by initiating a movement for a more effective centralized government. The work of the Philadelphia Convention, in fact, produced an "economic document" designed to protect the rights of property and to ensure that the public securities held by a majority of the delegates would rise in value as confidence in the new government grew. Unable to hold the line against the disciplined tactics of the nationalists in the State struggles over ratification, unpropertied and disenfranchised debtors and small farmers fell victim to a "conservative counterrevolution" which thereby thwarted the will of the vast majority of Americans. Indeed, rather than consolidating the democratic and egalitarian gains achieved by the radicals during the Confederation period, as the Whig historians had argued, the Constitution served only to further the advantages of a privileged few who were, according to Charles A. Beard, "immediately, directly, and personally interested in, and derived economic advantage from, the establishment of the new system." The progressive view of the Revolution was thus a recounting of frustrated democratic aspirations in the face of opposition from vested interest groups.

Since the Second World War nearly every tenet of the progressive synthesis has been subjected to close scrutiny by a new generation of historians. The development of more sophisticated concepts has cast suspicion upon a purely economic interpretation of the Revolution based upon the presumption of inherent class conflict. In their dissatisfaction with older views, scholars have asked pointed questions. How politically and economically restrictive was the imperial system prior to 1763? And how repressive were successive British measures after the Seven Years' War? Were they seriously regarded as a threat to home rule? How important was the fear of arbitrary power and political repression in creating revolutionary sentiment in the Colonies? Did internal conflict really signify a fundamental split between classes? To what degree were traditional economic, social, and political patterns transformed or "democratized" by the Revolution? Did the Constitution represent in fact a Thermidorian reaction to democratic excesses, a subversion of the revolutionary principles embodied in the Declaration

of Independence? In seeking answers to these and a host of other questions, the "neo-Whig" historians have adopted approaches, according to Jack P. Greene, that differ markedly from those used by earlier schools.

Their emphasis has been upon immediate issues and individual actions rather than upon long-range determinants or underlying conditions. Although they have been cautious in using formal psychology, they have been interested mainly in psychological questions involving constitutional principles, political power, liberty, security of property, and legal rights. Moreover, they have taken a broader approach to the problem of human motivation, proceeding upon the assumption that man is not moved by economic considerations alone. Their primary focus has been upon American grievances against Britain, the central question in their studies being why Americans were angry in the fateful years after 1763. To answer this question they have explored the sources intensively and rigorously, concerning themselves with problems at once more limited and more ambitious. The scope of their works has been narrow. They have sought not to write an epic of the American Revolution but to define issues, fix responsibilities, and measure the impact of events and policies. The result has been a remarkable reinterpretation of the Revolution and the virtual elimination of hitherto widely accepted views.<sup>2</sup>

The neo-Whig historians have demonstrated that economic grievances against British mercantile policy played only a small part in arousing colonial hostility in the pre-Revolutionary decade. Instead, the central issue in the minds of the colonists was the undermining of traditional political rights and constitutional liberties by the succession of restrictive and regulatory British measures that came *after* 1760. Indeed, the colonists indicated their devotion to constitutional principle time and again by their numerous declarations of grievance. One of the strongest motives for revolt was the fear of a deliberate conspiracy against liberty both in the mother country and in the provinces. Within each Colony, the neo-Whigs have pointed out, political antagonism had little to do with class conflict. It was confined largely to factional struggles between members of the ruling elite who actively courted and received the support of their constituents. In fact, property holding was so widespread that the majority of white males were qualified to vote. The supposed struggle for democratic reform was far less important than the progressive historians had imagined, simply because colonial society was more fluid and democratic than previously assumed. Thus, the neo-Whigs contend that the Revolution was at bottom a "conservative" movement designed to preserve and protect the existing democratic order in the Colonies from infringements by the mother country. The rapid social changes that the progressives saw in the period

shortly after the Revolution were therefore far less sweeping and took much longer to achieve. As a result, though it served as a mild check on popular excesses, the Constitution did not reject revolutionary gains but constructed what principal leaders of the period felt to be the necessary framework for the realization of republican aspirations.

The neo-Whig conception of the Revolution, however, has come under attack in recent years. Critics have charged that it had its origins in the conservative political atmosphere of the postwar decade and that it is simply a modified version of 19th-century Whig history. The interpretation of the Revolution, they argue, has thus come full circle from Bancroft.

Scholars have recently suggested that the fundamental difficulty in understanding the Revolution lies in the lack of agreement among historians over the relative importance of what men *say* and what they *do*. The Whig historians, after all, assumed history to be the conscious result of planned decisions and accepted at face value the Revolutionists' own explanation of what happened. The progressives, on the other hand, regarded Revolutionary ideas and patriotic rhetoric as mere cant and hypocrisy, as an irrational and hysterical response that masked deeper, hidden motives. Building upon the work of their predecessors, historians are searching anew for an explanation of the relationship between ideas and behavior, between what men thought to be true and what may actually have been true. Aware of Sir Lewis Namier's caveat that critical historical events often had their origins in "ridiculous beginnings," when seemingly insignificant men "did things both infinitely smaller and infinitely greater than they knew," scholars are now trying to move beyond ostensible conflicts and articulated motives in search of hidden stresses in colonial society. Their investigations, Gordon Wood has suggested, may lead to new insights which will enable historians "to combine a Whig with a Tory, an idealist with a behaviorist, interpretation."<sup>3</sup>

It is quite clear that the conception of the Revolution has changed markedly as each generation of historians sifted the available evidence. Although narrative histories have been written that do not fall within the descriptive framework of a given school, scholars have tended to be increasingly preoccupied with the questions raised by the major interpretations, whether they have focused upon a struggle of liberty against tyranny, a conflict between divergent cultures, the competition for place between antagonistic classes, or the principled defense of American freedom from external interference. Indeed, the variety of interpre-

tations that have emerged over the past 200 years underscores both the extraordinary complexity of the Revolution and the major obstacles faced by historians—the continuing problem of perspective and the availability of evidence. John Adams knew full well the difficulty of explaining events not clearly understood by even the participants themselves when he expressed to Thomas Jefferson his doubt that a true history of the Revolution could be written. Jefferson's reply, in

turn, is a chastening reminder of how little evidence of the founding of our Nation has survived.

On the subject of the history of the American Revolution, you ask who shall write it? Who can write it? And who will ever be able to write it? Nobody; except merely its external facts; all its councils, designs and discussions having been conducted by Congress with closed doors, and no members, as far as I know, having even made notes of them. These, which are the life and soul of history, must forever be unknown.

<sup>1</sup>See the introductory essays to Jack P. Greene's *The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (no. 113 in this bibliography) and Esmond Wright's *Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (no. 124) for analyses of the writings of individual members of each group.

<sup>2</sup>Jack P. Greene, "The Flight From Determinism: A Review of Recent Literature on the Coming of the American Revolution" (no. 63), p. 237.

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# GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

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